

# Nobility of the Croatian Kingdom between Zadar and Its Hinterland during the Late 14<sup>th</sup> and Early 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries

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In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Zadar became the centre of the Kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia. Then, and especially during the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it may be best described as a blooming town. The main reason for this situation was a combination of political, social, and economic circumstances, and the market of possibilities was equally open to peasants, craftsmen, merchants, educated administration, and the nobility. The city required personal presence and offered challenges in search for a better future or in establishing or improving one's reputation. All these opportunities, and especially the last one, played a role in attracting the Croatian nobility, which will be the focus of this article.

Historians have long emphasized the fact that the research on medieval Zadar has been neglecting the Croatian element in the creation of populations and social groups,<sup>1</sup> and that more attention should be paid to the interaction between the social structures of coastal municipalities and their closer or more distant hinterland.<sup>2</sup> It should be observed that this interaction was continuous, and that, in case of coastal municipalities, it is even difficult to speak of continuity with regard to any other element but the Croatian one. Taking all this into account, it seems more useful to look at the social differences and the creation of socially privileged groups than to establish the possible origin of the population and/or their ethnicity. Namely, the creation of socially privileged groups need not be limited by their origin (e.g. in case of Zadar, the opposition

<sup>1</sup> Roman Jelić, "Grgur Mrganić," *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 6-7 (1960), 487-508, here 493-495.

<sup>2</sup> On the interaction between urban communes and their close or distant hinterland, especially the case of Zadar, see Vesna Jakić-Cestarić, "Etnički odnosi u srednjevjekovnom Zadru prema analizi osobnih imena" [Ethnic relations in medieval Zadar according to an analysis of personal names], *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 19 (1972), 99-166; eadem, "Ženska osobna imena i hrvatski udio u etnosimbiotskim procesima u Zadru do kraja XII. stoljeća" [Female names and the Croatian part in the ethnosymbiotic processes in Zadar], *Radovi Centra Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 21 (1974), 291-337; eadem, "Zadarska ženska osobna imena u XII. stoljeću – odraz i rezultanta prethodnih simbiotskih procesa u gradu i porijekla novijih doseljenika" [Female personal names in 12<sup>th</sup>-century Zadar as a reflection and result of previous symbiotic processes in the city and the origin of the newcomers], *Radovi Centra Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 24 (1977), 143-225.

between Croatian-Roman or between ancients-newcomers). Moreover, it seems that there were actually no major limitations regarding the continued and manifold interaction between the city and its hinterland before the emergence of formal urban and social homogeneity – if such homogeneity is to be presumed – in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, at least in case of Zadar. After the process of emergence and definition of the privileged social group was completed, the municipalities began to set social and legal limits with regard to the hinterland population. From that time onwards, one's true social power, reputation, and influence in the hinterland (or belonging to a privileged group there) ceased to play a role in determining one's social and legal status in the city, and form prevailed over content. In the urban communes of Dalmatia, the completion and definition of this social stratification may be related to the closing of their Major Councils, before the 1330s at the latest, when the privileged social group was limited to the patricians broadly speaking. From that point onwards, the patricians remained a closed privileged group, impenetrable even for the members of other privileged groups, such as the aristocracy of the hinterland. During the Angevin integration of Croatia and Dalmatia, and especially after the Peace of Zadar in 1358, the separation of social classes intensified, resulting in the emergence of an urban class that was economically equal to the patricians or even wealthier, but had no possibility of actively participating in the political life of the town.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, one might say that it was not crucial to be of particular origin, but rather to belong to the privileged group, whereby two persons could have the same origin, but belong to different social groups.

Regarding the political and administrative integration of the littoral in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, and also the social and economic attractions of Zadar and the aforementioned social and legal limitations, it seems necessary to investigate the level of integration of hinterland nobility – which is sporadically, more continuously, or permanently mentioned as present in the municipalities – in the life of a town. Thereby the focus will be first and foremost on their legal status, business and marital ties, and their links to the homeland. However, before analyzing this issue in more detail, one should say something more about the nobility of the hinterland.

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<sup>3</sup> On the social classes and their legal status in Dalmatian urban communes, see Tomislav Raukar, "Cives, habitatores, forenses u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima" [Cives, habitatores, and forenses in medieval Dalmatian cities], in: idem, *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku* [Studies on Dalmatia in the Middle Ages] (Split: Književni krug, 2007), 43-52; idem, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću" [Communal societies in Dalmatia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century], ibid., 69-139; idem, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XV. i u prvoj polovici XVI. stoljeća" [Communal societies in Dalmatia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century], ibid., 141-212.

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With the establishment and affirmation of the Angevin rule in the lands of the Crown of St Stephen, the social relations were gradually transformed, whereby certain administrative principles applied that were characteristic for the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>4</sup> The whole process can be viewed from several different angles, but here it must be especially emphasized that efficient reorganization made the royal power permanently present in each corner of the Angevin realm, which contributed to a clearer definition of social and property relations, and a more elaborate administrative system. In the territory of the Croatian Kingdom, this process took place around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, after the final assertion of Louis I of Anjou in the region. At the same time, it is crucial to single out several aspects that are particularly important in identifying the position of hinterland nobility with regard to the king.

The royal decrees of 1351 and 1352, concordant with the conclusions of the diet of the Hungarian nobility in Buda and Székesfehérvár – valid for the entire royal realm including the Croatian Kingdom – actually confirmed the privileges conferred on the nobility by the Golden Bull of 1222, at the same time granting them equality, which erased all differences between the various layers of nobility, at least in principle.

It was reasserted and confirmed that all land had originally belonged to the ruler (the so-called *ius regium*), and was only later transferred to its owners by means of donations. That, again, created a new idea of ownership, which caused a change in the social relations within the ownership structures. Namely, in order to conform to the *ius regium*, the nobility had to prove their rights over the land by producing a royal donation charter – which was the most secure way – or by referring to their possession of the land through many generations as *veri nobiles* and by showing that they used it *more nobilium*, otherwise it could be taken away from them and annexed to the royal territories.<sup>5</sup> All this led to more homogeneity among the owners, who were mostly kin, in case there were more of them. However, it must also be said that homogeneity among the kin owners also depended on the pre-existing relations or

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 140-141.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Martin C. Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London: Palgrave, 2000), 59-61 and 96-103; Pál Engel, "Erbteilung und Failienbildung" in ...*The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. B. Nagy and M. Sebők (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 1999), 411-421; idem, *The Realm* (as in n. 4) 148-149; Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánty. The Hungarian nobleman and his kindred* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1998), 42-44; János M. Bak, "Probleme einer vergleichenden Betrachtung mittelalterlicher Eliten in Ostmitteleuropa" in idem, *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond*, ed. B. Nagy and G. Klaniczay (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 49-64, here 60-61.

cohesion among them, as well as the size of land that they owned. Therefore, homogeneity was achieved in two extremes: in case of considerably sized estates and weak cohesion, homogeneity remained rather limited or even absent, but if the estate was small and the cohesion strong, homogeneity could be exceptionally strengthened. In any case, the intensification of homogeneity among the kin noblemen served to protect their common property. In terms of nobility structures, this meant either dissolution into individual families or the strengthening of kin ties to the point of forming a kindred (*genus*). Since most Croatian noblemen did not possess any significant estates, it is in this context that the kindred gained a particular importance for them. The link between the nobility status, kindred, and a common estate (*patrimonium*), resulting from the royal administrative efforts, became a feature of the new social order. In this altered social climate, identification directed at belonging to a kindred became virtually the most important determinant for the nobility.

The nobility of Zadar's hinterland was no exception in this respect, and in accordance with the full assertion of Angevin rule over the Croatian Kingdom, a social form was established that was described as *genus* in contemporary sources. As for the Croatian nobility of Zadar's hinterland, in the area under the reign of Louis I organized as the County of Luka, kindreds became especially manifest from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. A specific feature of everyday life for these noble kindreds was the vicinity of Zadar as a powerful urban centre, especially regarding the fact that during most of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century it was also the Kingdom's administrative and political centre. A part of that everyday life was the inevitable interaction between noblemen, members of a kindred, and the town, which will now be analyzed in more detail.

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It is quite logical that the presence of Croatian nobility in a municipality should be best documented in Zadar, as the preserved archival sources probably relate most abundantly to that town. They consist largely of documents produced by Zadar's notaries, preserved at the State Archive of Zadar, and documents produced by the Zadar chapter as a *locus credibilis*.<sup>6</sup> The latter have been partly published by Tadija Smičiklas

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<sup>6</sup> On the structure of chapter documents, see Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Struktura i diplomatička analiza isprava kninskog kaptola" [Structure and diplomatic analysis of documents produced by the Knin Chapter], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 36 (1994), 69-85. On documents produced by the Zadar chapter, see Mladen Ančić, "Splitski i Zadarski kaptol kao 'vjerodostojna mjesta'" [Chapters of Split and Zadar as *loci credibili*] in *Registar Artikulacija iz Rivignana (Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskog i Splitskog kaptola*, vol. 1) [Registry of Articulations from Rivignano (Medieval registries of the chapters of Zadar and Split, vol. 1], *Fontes* 11 (2005), 11-77; cf. Marko Kostrenčić, *Fides publica (javna vera) u pravnoj istoriji Srba i Hrvata do kraja XV*

in his collection *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*,<sup>7</sup> and the registers in the series *Registra Medievalia Capitulorum Iadre et Spalati*.<sup>8</sup> Individual documents produced by the Zadar chapter are preserved in the archival collections of the Croatian State Archives (*Documenta mediaevalia varia*)<sup>9</sup> and the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) in Zagreb (*Diplomata*).<sup>10</sup> It is also worth noting that, according to some indications that cannot be described here in detail for reasons of space limitation, the case of Nin would probably offer a more complete picture of integration between a coastal town and the nobility in its hinterland, but unfortunately the state of preservation of sources related to Nin does not allow an investigation of this type.

The analysis of the position of Croatian nobility in Zadar should be preceded by some methodological remarks related to the investigation. Namely, for this occasion the most interesting Croatian noblemen were those who are labelled in the sources as *de genere*, which also makes them identifiable as noblemen from the hinterland. It was identification in terms of belonging to a particular kindred, which was, as it has been previously established, the main feature of social arrangements in Zadar's hinterland and one of the most important division lines with regard to those in the urban setting. These division lines can also be viewed from the standpoint of belonging to a particular type of nobility, whereby noblemen from the hinterland belonged to the

veka [*Fides publica* (public faith) in the legal history of the Serbs and the Croats before the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century] (Belgrade: Serbian Royal Academy, 1930), 112; Mladen Ančić, "Preface" to *Registar Petra de Sarčane (Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskog i Splitskog kaptola*, vol. 3) [Registry of Petar de Sarčana (Medieval registries of the chapters of Zadar and Split, vol. 3], *Fontes* 15 (2009), 7-13.

<sup>7</sup> *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (hereafter: *Codex diplomaticus*).

<sup>8</sup> All volumes of the series have meanwhile been published: Mladen Ančić, *Registar Artikulacija iz Rivignana (Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskog i Splitskog kaptola*, vol. 1) [Registry of Articulations from Rivignano (Medieval registries of the chapters of Zadar and Split, vol. 1], *Fontes* 11 (2005) (hereafter: AR ACI); Damir Karbić, Maja Katušić, and Ana Pisačić, *Velika bilježnica Zadarskog kaptola (Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskog i Splitskog kaptola*, vol. 2) [The Great Notebook of the Zadar Chapter (Medieval registries of the chapters of Zadar and Split, vol. 2], *Fontes* 13 (2007) (hereafter: PP ACI); and Mladen Ančić, *Registar Petra de Sarčane (Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskog i Splitskog kaptola*, vol. 3) [Registry of Petar de Sarčana (Medieval registries of the chapters of Zadar and Split, vol. 3], *Fontes* 15 (2009), 15-144 (hereafter: PS ACI). The final volume is: Damir Karbić, Maja Katušić, and Ivan Majnarić: *Zajednički registar Ivana de Trottisa i Teodora de Prandina (Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskog i Splitskog kaptola*, vol. 4) [Joint Register of John de Trottis and Theodore de Prandino, (Medieval registries of the chapters of Zadar and Split), vol. 3], *Fontes* 18 (2012), 7-220 (hereafter IT-TP ACI). This volume also contains a bastardel of the same registry (hereafter: IT-TP ACIb).

<sup>9</sup> It is the collection *Documenta mediaevalia varia*.

<sup>10</sup> The regesta were edited by Jakov Stipišić and Miljen Šamšalović to be printed in the journal of the Institute of History at HAZU, Zagreb, 1959-1964.

Croatian nobility and those from Zadar to urban nobility.

Moreover, members of kindreds permanently resident in Zadar are indicated in the sources merely by their family name, without the kindred label. These mentions mostly do not testify of social interaction between the hinterland and the city, but rather of the city's history and only indirectly of the level of integration of hinterland nobility in the urban society. For this reason, these mentions have not been systematically incorporated in the present research.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, it can be observed that the hinterland noblemen, resident for a longer period of time or permanently in Zadar, never failed to indicate the name of their kindred when interacting with the hinterland or its nobility. More on that will be said later on.

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It is primarily concerning the differences in the nature of nobility (between urban nobility and the "genuine" nobility) that one must define the social and legal status of hinterland nobility in Zadar. The sources speak of numerous cases, among which the following deserve special interest.

Matej, son of the late Netremac of the Mogorović kindred, is mentioned from 1369 as a *habitator* of Zadar,<sup>12</sup> which means that he had permanently settled down in the city, and from 1390 he appears as *ciuis et habitator*.<sup>13</sup> Lovro, son of the late Dražmil from Obrovac, from the Jamomet kindred, is mentioned in 1424 as *habitator*<sup>14</sup> and from 1425 also as *ciuis et habitator*.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike Matej and Lovro, a number of Croatian noblemen remained permanently in the status of *habitator* and never achieved a higher one, although they were resident in the city. These include, for example, Matej Radušević from the Čudomirić

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<sup>11</sup> An excellent example is entrepreneur Grgur Mrganić Smolić from the Virević kin. Namely, in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, he is so often mentioned in the notarial documents of Zadar that one may infer his personal friendship with most of Zadar's notaries. These mentions have not been systematically researched here for the abovementioned reasons.

<sup>12</sup> State Archive in Zadar (hereafter: SAZ), *Spisi zadarških bilježnika* [Documents of Zadar's notaries] (hereafter: DZN), Petrus Perençanus (hereafter: PP), b. I, fasc. 11, 8', October 20, 1369; SAZ, DZN, PP, b. II., fasc. 1, 35', March 16, 1373; *Codex diplomaticus XVI*, doc. 1, 3-5., January 31, 1379; SAZ, DZN, Iohannes de Casulis (hereafter: IC), b. I., fasc. 1, vol. 1, 23', March 26, 1382; PP ACI, doc. 17-18, 42-47, March 9, 1384; doc. 21, 52-55, April 6, 1384.

<sup>13</sup> PP ACI, doc. 93, 235-237, April 18, 1390.

<sup>14</sup> SAZ, DZN, Teodorus de Prandino (hereafter: TP), b. II, fasc. 3, 492, February 11, 1424.

<sup>15</sup> SAZ, DZN, TP, b. III, fasc. 4, 86'-87, January 5, 1425.

kindred<sup>16</sup> or Grgur, son of the late Stjepan Rusković from the Mogorović kindred.<sup>17</sup> Some resided in Zadar only temporarily, such as Juraj Vlatković from the Kačić kindred<sup>18</sup> or Vladika, son of the late Juraj Petrušević from the Karinjan kindred.<sup>19</sup>

In some cases, hinterland nobility was obviously integrated in the society of Zadar over the generations. Thus, Juraj, son of the late Miroslav from the Mogorović kindred, is mostly mentioned as *ciuis et habitator*<sup>20</sup> and his son Franjo as *ciuis*.<sup>21</sup> Thereby the statuses of *ciuis et habitator* and *ciuis* were seen as legally equivalent, although one may presume that they imply different degrees of social acceptance and reputation, whereby Juraj's status reveals that he was considered a newcomer in Zadar. It should also be emphasized that the non-unified use of terminology also results from unsystematic notarial practice.<sup>22</sup> However, this practice also reveals the multilayered character of municipalities at the time.

In any case, these examples testify of the gradual assimilation of hinterland nobility in the urban society. Nevertheless, these noblemen of Zadar – using the social and legal terminology of the time – usually could not achieve the status of *nobilis ciuis* and become patricians. In terms of that, the social position of a hinterland nobleman did not correspond to his status back in the homeland, especially in that he could not actively participate in the political life of the town. That fact, as well as the need of establishing themselves and creating new economic opportunities, contrib-

<sup>16</sup> From 1391 (SAZ, DZN, *Artikucije iz Rivinjana* [Articulations from Rivinjano] (hereafter: AR), b. II, fasc. 6, 5'-6, April 18, 1391) until 1395 (PS ACI, doc. 37, 95-97, December 6, 1395).

<sup>17</sup> From 1384 (PP ACI, doc. 29, 74-76, December 6, 1384) until 1401 (SAZ, DZN, *Vannes quondam Bernardi de Firmo* (hereafter: VB), b. I., fasc. 2, vol. 1, 253', November 24, 1401).

<sup>18</sup> From 1390, it is said that Juraj *habitat Iadre* (PP ACI, doc. 82, 209-210, February 24, 1390), which is to be explained by the warfare in the hinterland. From 1392, he is mentioned as *de Podnadino, habitator Iadre* (AR ACI, doc. 50, 218-220, November 27, 1392), and he is called that way for the last time in 1395 (PS ACI, doc. 25-26, 72-77, May 21, 1395). He appears in the sources until 1411, but without a precise place associated with his name. Apparently, after 1395 he was no longer resident in Zadar, but returned to his home in Nadin.

<sup>19</sup> In 1390, during the war, he was in Zadar, where he is mentioned as *nobilis vir, ser, de Quirino, habitator Iadre* (AR ACI, doc. 17, 121-123, April 22, 1390).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e.g. SAZ, DZN, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, 48-49, May 21, 1386; b. II, fasc. 6, 201', March 16, 1394.

<sup>21</sup> SAZ, DZN, TP, b. I, fasc. 1, 381'-382, April 4, 1413; cf. Stjepan Antoljak, "Izumiranje i nestanak hrvatskog plemstva u okolici Zadra" [Extinction and disappearance of the Croatian nobility in the surroundings of Zadar], in: idem, *Hrvati u prošlosti* [The Croats in the past] (Split: Književni krug, 1992), 323-383, here 350-351; IT-TP ACI, doc. 72, 127-128, 1420; SAZ, DZN, TP, b. II, fasc. 3, 35'-36, July 3, 1420.

<sup>22</sup> On the connection between the term and the legal status, see Sabine F. Fabijanec, "Društvena i kulturna uloga zadarskog trgovca u XIV. i XV. stoljeću" [The social and cultural role of merchants in Zadar during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 22 (2004), 55-120, here 58-63.

uted, among other things, to a closer cooperation between the Croatian noblemen incorporated in the society of Zadar and other wealthy citizens, as well as their common organization, the fraternity of St James of Galicia, founded in 1407.<sup>23</sup> From that date, the fraternity had a considerable impact on Zadar's everyday life, and it was the hinterland noblemen that gave it a particular tenor. It may even be presumed that it may have served as an expression of the hinterland nobility's aspirations to achieve a stronger political impact on the life of the city, one that would better correspond to their reputation and economic power.

One of the essential elements in the assimilation of Croatian noblemen in the society of Zadar was the success of their professional activities. They are mentioned as practicing various professions, the most profitable being trade and entrepreneurship. It may be presumed that their activity reflected the economic power of their kindreds back in the homeland.

Thus, a number of noblemen were involved in various crafts. Damjan, son of the late Dibudoj from the Lasničić kindred, was a tailor,<sup>24</sup> Vučina, son of the late Budislav from the Lapčan kindred, was a *marangon*,<sup>25</sup> Matej, son of the late Bogdan from the Stupić kindred,<sup>26</sup> and Radić Stipančić from the Kolunić kindred were furriers,<sup>27</sup> Ivan, son of the late Juraj from the Čudomirić kindred was a weaver,<sup>28</sup> and Šimun, son of the late Ivan, and Vukašin, son of Mateša, both from the Polečić kindred, were barber surgeons.<sup>29</sup> Some noblemen sought their fortune in less profitable professions, such as Matej Radušević from the Čudomirić kindred, who was a sailor.<sup>30</sup>

However, most hinterland noblemen resident in Zadar engaged in trade – often in silk fabric or salt – which was the most profitable profession at the time, but required good financial predispositions. In the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, one can observe extensive trading and money-lending activity of Matej, son of the late Netremac from

<sup>23</sup> Its foundation is mentioned by Pavao Pavlović, cf. Ferdo Šišić, "Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskog" [The Annals of Pavao Pavlović, a patrician of Zadar], *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arkiva* 6 (1904), 2-59, here 42; also see Fabijanec, "Društvena i kulturna" (as in n. 22), 74-76.

<sup>24</sup> PP ACI, doc. 2, 15-17, December 6, 1380.

<sup>25</sup> PS ACI, doc. 15, 48-50, August 23, 1394.

<sup>26</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, 60, July 10, 1407.

<sup>27</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. III, fasc. 10, 21'-22, December 29, 1408.

<sup>28</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. III, fasc. 12, vol. 1, 11', May 19, 1412.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. e.g. SAZ, DZN, *Iohannes de Calcina* (hereafter: ICal), b. IV, fasc. 6, vol. 6, 294'-295, January 8, 1453.

<sup>30</sup> PP ACI, doc. 90, 228-230, April 23, 1390.

the Mogorović kindred, and Damjan, son of the late Martin from the Polečić kindred. Besides them, Ivan Jurmanić, Juraj, son of the late Miroslav from the Mogorović kindred, and Ivan, son of the late Pavao from the Polečić kindred, are mentioned as successful merchants.

The most exemplary cases of extensive trading activity in the 15<sup>th</sup> century are Grgur Mrganić Smolić from the Virević kindred and Lovro Dražmilić from the Jamomet kindred. Both were well furnished for the business from the very outset, owing to inheritance. Mrganić's business was so far-reaching that it extended beyond Zadar. It may even be imagined as the sort of trade that his contemporary Benedikt Kotruljević described in his *Book on the Art of Trade*. On the size of his trade, various data have been collected in an extensive study by Roman Jelić and the research of Tomislav Raukar and Sabine Florence Fabijanec,<sup>31</sup> but even these have incorporated only a minor part of the extant sources on Grgur.<sup>32</sup> Lovro was only slightly lagging behind Grgur in the volume of his business, and his trade crossed the limits of Obrovac while his father Dražmil, son of the late Marko, was still living.<sup>33</sup> Both Grgur and Lovro were involved in various types of enterprises and also owned a considerable amount of real estate in Zadar, the town's hinterland, and the surrounding islands. Their reputation and influence are also evident from the fact that, in 1457, both are mentioned among the leading members of the fraternity of St James.<sup>34</sup> Grgur is also mentioned as a benefactor, as he sponsored the building of churches, a monastery for the Franciscan Third Order, and a hospital next to the cathedral of St Anastasia.

The links between Croatian nobility and the society of Zadar are also evident from their marriage policy. The best examples come from the Karinjan kindred, several members of which married distinguished women from Zadar. Thus, Vladika, son of the late Juraj Petrišević and a temporary resident of Zadar, judge at the Court Table at Podgrađe and a wealthy landowner in Zadar's hinterland, married Cvijeta, daughter

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Jelić, "Grgur Mrganić" (as in n. 1); Tomislav Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću. Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi* [Zadar in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: Economic development and social relations] (Zagreb: University of Zagreb, History Centre at the Department of Croatian History, 1977); Sabine F. Fabijanec, "Profesionalna djelatnost zadarskih merchanta u XIV i XV stoljeću" [Professional activity of Zadar's merchants in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 17 (1999), 31-60, here 56-59.

<sup>32</sup> It should be noted in this context that research on Grgur's life and work would merit a separate doctoral dissertation, which would also offer valuable insights into the social and economic circumstances in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Zadar.

<sup>33</sup> On the business activities of Dražmil, son of the late Marko, see *Codex diplomaticus XVIII*, doc. 53, 69-71, November 8, 1395; doc. 85, 122-123, June 3, 1396.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the document transcript in: Jelić, "Grgur Mrganić" (as in n. 1), 498.

of Marko, son of master Tura from Pesaro, a resident and citizen of Zadar.<sup>35</sup> Borin, son of the late Jurislav, married Marija, daughter of the late Dujam Paladinić from Hvar, who at that time owned a business in Zadar.<sup>36</sup> Ratko, son of the late Martinuš, married around 1390 Rita,<sup>37</sup> a noblewoman from Naples and a resident of Zadar, who was the widow of Petar de Bellante, a special confidential of King Louis and the former count of Bužan and Počitelj. Bartol Petrišević was married to Margarita, daughter of Juraj Segurin from Nin. In this context, it is interesting to note that Helena, daughter of the late Jakov from the Karinjan kindred, was the wife of Antun, son of the late Kolan de Butuano, nobleman of Zadar.<sup>38</sup>

With regard to the given examples, it must be noted that these Karinjan wives did not belong to the patrician class, most often because they were newcomers in Zadar, even though they distinguished themselves from the rest of the town's population through their reputation, same as the Karinjan, and therefore could not obtain the nobility status. An illustrative example of the reputation of the Karinjan kindred is the last case, that of marriage between a female member of the Karinjan kindred and a patrician from Zadar. All this proves that, in terms of marriage policy, Zadar's society served to the hinterland nobility as a polygon for establishing its own reputation and vice versa. That the same was valid for other kindreds can be inferred from the marriage between Juraj, son of the late Vlatko from the Kačić kindred, and Marica, daughter of Ivan de Viola from the island of Rab, who was a resident of Zadar.<sup>39</sup> In any case, social equality was the main precondition for choosing a marriage partner and marriage was a way to interlink more closely the hinterland society and the city.

Another form of integration between hinterland nobility and the city is manifest in various administrative services and needs. Regarding the fact that Zadar was the centre of the Kingdom and from 1409 also of the Venetian rule in Dalmatia, it offered various possibilities regarding administration, among which one may single out the following.

The hinterland nobility resident in Zadar was entrusted with certain administrative tasks on the basis of its link with the hinterland. Thus, Šimun Saračinić from the Virević kindred, a *civis* of Zadar, is mentioned in an investigation related to a

<sup>35</sup> Cf. SAZ, DZN, AR, b. II, fasc. 4, 5, April 19, 1389.

<sup>36</sup> AR ACI, doc. 25, 141-142, February 28, 1391.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. e.g. SAZ, DZN, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, 90-90', October 15, 1392.

<sup>38</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, 64, April 26, 1387.

<sup>39</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. II, fasc. 6, 190'-191, January 31, 1394.

legal process in 1405 as a *homo regius*, that is, a confident of Baldasar de Capresio, the count of Zadar and a deputy of King Ladislas in Hungary and Croatia.<sup>40</sup> As early as 1403, another *homo regius* is noted, sent by the *vicarious generalis* Lodovico de Aldemarisco for another investigation process, namely Stanislav aka Mrgan, son of the late Križan Smolić from the Virević kindred.<sup>41</sup> These were special legates of various legal institutions, who were appointed from among a group of men and could in certain cases preside over investigation processes or witness the testimonies, which guaranteed the regularity of the procedure.

Ivan Kučić from the Kačić kindred, who is occasionally mentioned as a *habitor* of Zadar, is noted in 1414 as an *olim famulus* of the prominent Zadar nobleman Jakov Radučić and one of those citizens of Zadar who were taken to Venice as hostages.<sup>42</sup> On the basis of that note, Stjepan Antoljak has established that Ivan was a servant to Jakov Radučić.<sup>43</sup> However, there is more than one reason to believe that it was not so, primarily because a Croatian nobleman, especially one who had not fallen into poverty – and according to the sources, Ivan even enjoyed a high social standing and financial security – could never become a servant to another nobleman. Moreover, judging from the examples given above, it may be concluded that hinterland nobility enjoyed an even greater reputation than the urban one, even though that reputation could not be fully realized in the political framework of urban communes. Furthermore, it should be noted that in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century the term *famulus* meant the same as *familiaris*.<sup>44</sup> It is in this context that one should consider the mention of Ivan Kučić as *famulus*. It denoted an official and a confident, a particularly trustworthy man for Jakov Radučić, who was one of the most prominent men of Zadar, a doctor of both laws and a Croatian nobleman originating from Senj. This, again, tells of the high reputation that Ivan enjoyed among the Zadar nobility, as well as his active role

<sup>40</sup> IT-TP ACI, doc. 17, 38-40, May 30, 1406.

<sup>41</sup> IT-TP ACI, doc. 2, 14-16, November 13, 1404.

<sup>42</sup> Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Documents referring to the relations between the South Slavs and the Venetian Republic], vol. 7 (Zagreb: Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1882), 182-183.

<sup>43</sup> Stjepan Antoljak, "Pobiranje marturine, crkvene desetine i vojšćine u zadarskom distriktu (1435)" [Collecting the *marturina*, the church tithe, and the military tax in the district of Zadar], in: idem, *Hrvati u prošlosti* (as in n. 21), 433-441, here 438.

<sup>44</sup> For the discussion on the status of *familiaris* and the use of the term in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with a particular focus on the *familiares* of the Šubići, see Damir Karbić, "Familiares of the Šubići," in: *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université d'Angers*, ed. N. Coulet and J.-M. Matz (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 132-147, here 137-139.

in political affairs. Moreover, one may come to certain conclusions regarding Ivan's transfer to Venice in 1414. It may be that his presence in Venice was of special importance for the Venetian authorities in terms of establishing their rule among the hinterland nobility. In any case, it is significant that there was a nobleman from the hinterland among the hostages from Zadar.

As for the other noblemen serving in Zadar's administration, one should also single out Radoslav from the Polečić kindred, who was a *cavalarius domini comitis Iadre* in the period from 1434-1442.<sup>45</sup> It was a sort of military service, which implied certain financial power and also testifies of the different options that the urban setting could offer to the hinterland nobility.

Having considered the position of noblemen from the hinterland of Zadar, I will now focus on the links between the Croatian noblemen in Zadar and their old homeland. Most of them kept contact with their homeland in one way or another, be it with the members of their own kindred or with those of other kindreds. These links can be classified into those related to land transactions, those with churches in their homeland, and those related to benefactions or business ambitions.

The links related to land transactions are the most richly attested ones, which speaks of the close connections between the relatives living in the city and those who remained in the hinterland, which is hardly surprising given the fact that the nobility was organized on the basis of kinship. To some extent, this fact speaks of an exchange of capital between the city and the hinterland, and the interdependence of the two areas, for the money earned through business transactions in Zadar could be used by the hinterland kindreds when trading or investing capital by purchasing estates in the hinterland. It is therefore understandable that most transactions in land were made between members of the hinterland kindreds and those living in the town. However, before offering some examples, additional aspects of land transactions should be indicated.

First of all, it must be emphasized that the medieval society, at least in principle and before the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, prohibited all interest and usury, which became a sensitive social issue with time.<sup>46</sup> Primarily based on the theory of the barrenness of

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. SAZ, DZN, Nicolaus de Ho de Cremona, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 1, 15, March 3, 1434; SAZ, DZN, ICal, b. I, fasc. 1, 298–298', March 21, 1442; b. VIII, fasc. 1, vol. 1, 1', March 21, 1442.

<sup>46</sup> On the attitude of the medieval society towards money, interest, and usury, cf. Diana Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 69-88 and 159-205; Ivan Pederin, *Jadranska Hrvatska u povijesti staroga europskog bankarstva* [Adriatic Croatia in the history of old European banking] (Split: Književni krug, 1996), 25-33.

money, it was forbidden to exploit another in business transactions in order to gain profit or to lend money with interest and for the sake of interest. Despite that, it may be concluded that the legal regulations could be skilfully evaded in various situations in order to make business with interest. With time, an idea developed that the seller/creditor should be somehow protected from loss, whereby a particular sum of money was considered as lien rather than interest. Prohibitions were also present in Dalmatian municipalities such as Zadar,<sup>47</sup> and probably in Croatia as well, although there are no sources concerning that. The Statute of Zadar contains outspoken prohibitions in this respect. It is particularly interesting that it also lists the examples of businesses in which the interest could be largely hidden, such as the selling of horses, wine, bread baskets, oil, cheese, and other mobile property, where a certain amount of money was usually added to the actual value. In those cases in which such twisting of the law was discovered, the accused had to pay a fine to the commune of Zadar as well as to the accuser.<sup>48</sup>

In case of land transactions, several models have been observed. There was classical sale, in which money was paid for the purchased land and the buyer became its owner. Examples are those of Damjan, son of the late Martin from the Polečić kindred, who bought land from his relatives in Meljača and Tršćani in 1389,<sup>49</sup> or Matej, son of the late Netremac from the Mogorović kindred, who bought various estates in the village of Mogorova Dubrava in 1389 and 1390.<sup>50</sup>

Land was often leased for a certain period of time. Thereby the leaser pledged to pay a certain sum of money to the lease-giver (for the entire period at once or in instalments according to the deal, mostly annually) and/or to cede a part of the harvest. Thus, in 1400, Juraj, son of the late Vlatko from the Kačić kindred, gave two land plots sized five *gonjaj* each in lease to the brothers from the Viktorić kindred, who were obliged to cede a quarter of the harvest.<sup>51</sup> In 1422, two citizens of Zadar, Pavao, son of the late Radman from the Jamomet kindred, and butcher Matija Križančić from the Viktorić kindred, leased three *ždrijeb* of land in the villages of Veterenić and Jošane

<sup>47</sup> *Zadarski statut* [The Statute of Zadar], ed. Josip Kolanović and Mate Križman (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1997) (hereafter: SZ), book V, ch. 6-7.

<sup>48</sup> SZ, V, 8.

<sup>49</sup> PP ACI, doc. 69, 176-178, May 3, 1389; doc. 70, 178-181, May 13, 1389; doc. 73, 186-188, June 20, 1389.

<sup>50</sup> AR ACI, doc. 12, 108-110, March 20, 1390; PP ACI, doc. 65, 164-168, March 11, 1389; doc. 67, 171-173, March 28, 1389; doc. 93, 235-237, April 18, 1390.

<sup>51</sup> SAZ, DZN, VB, b. I., fasc. 2, vol. 1, 158, April 2, 1400.

for the period of 15 years from some members of the Šubić kindred for the price of 26 golden ducat coins.<sup>52</sup>

Along with the classical sales, the sources also speak of some sort of sales-leases, whereby the seller sold the estate to the buyer, but paid him off after a while, thus regaining the property. That form of sale actually reminds of lease, since the land was used as a sort of lien in money-lending. However, the term “sale-lease” can be interpreted in different ways and one should first look at the attested cases.

In case the sale contract explicitly mentioned the possibility of repurchasing the estate, it is clear that this was done in order to protect the seller's rights, which is confirmed by the following example: In May 1395, Karol, son of the late Butko from the Kačić kindred, sold 8.5 *gonjaj* of land in Podnadin to Ivan Jurmanić, a merchant from Zadar, for 60 small pounds.<sup>53</sup> Beside this contract, however, Karol and Jurmanić signed another, which defined the conditions of possible repurchasing, among others Karol's right to regain his property after paying the sale price to Jurmanić.<sup>54</sup> According to this second contract, in June 1396, Karol paid 60 small pounds to Jurmanić, upon which Jurmanić handed in the sale contract, torn in two, to Karol. It must be emphasized that such an annex to the contract protected the rights of the seller against all future demands and claims to repurchasing.

However, the possibility of repurchasing the estate was more often not explicitly stated; instead, the sale contract was supplied with an annex stating its invalidation, which means that the seller had paid off the buyer. It is this invalidation annex that shows that it was not a mere sale, but rather a sale-lease with the possibility of regaining the property. The following example clearly shows it, and it again involves the Kačić kindred and Jurmanić.

In January 1394, Martinuš, son of the late Butko from the Kačić kindred, sold a half of *ždrijeb* in Podnadin, in eight plots, for 50 small pounds to Jurmanić.<sup>55</sup> Two and half years later, in June 1396, Martinuš is mentioned as deceased and the sale contract was destroyed according to Jurmanić's will. It was when Martinuš's brother Karol paid 52 small pounds to Jurmanić, who then tore apart the sale contract signed with Martinuš.

Regarding this case, one may also ask the following question about the sale-lease

<sup>52</sup> IT-TP ACI, doc. 89, 149-150, August 25, 1422.

<sup>53</sup> PS ACI, doc. 25, 72-75, May 21, 1395.

<sup>54</sup> PS ACI, doc. 26, 75-77, May 21, 1395.

<sup>55</sup> PS ACI, doc. 5, 26-29, January 22, 1394.

contracts: How many sales remained valid? What was the actual number of sales and did all sales include some protection of the seller's rights in terms of a possibility of repurchasing the property (which, again, questions the actual ownership as such)?

Another interesting aspect of sales-leases must be mentioned, which is the possibility of gaining interest from the transaction.

In the abovementioned transaction between Martinuš (and his brother Karol) and Jurmanić, the sale price was 50 small pounds, but Karol's payment was 52 small pounds. In May 1395, brothers Mihalj and Greško, sons of the late Klapac Radinić from the Kačić kindred, sold 8 *gonjaj* of arable land in Gornje Polje in the Nadin region for the price of 30 small pounds. This contract was invalidated only in 1404, when the two brothers paid 60 small pounds to Jurmanić.<sup>56</sup> These transactions may lead us to presume that the difference in sums could actually represent the interest. However, apparently that was not the case; instead, the difference most probably resulted from a change in the value of money (a sort of deflation). Thereby it must also be emphasized that Jurmanić had the right to the harvest from the land and the profit gained from the harvest throughout the period before being paid off, which could also be considered a sort of interest. However, in this case it should also be established whether the buyer really used the land, which is impossible to prove in most cases.

Concerning these examples and various problems related to the sales-leases, various issues can be raised. Namely, the sales-leases can be approached in two different ways: with regard to whether the transactions took place between the members of the same kindred or between various kindreds, and with regard to the relationship between the seller and the buyer.

When such transactions took place between the members of the same kindred, one may presume that they were used to predetermine inheritance or at least to express the likelihood of inheritance by particular members of the kindred. In that case, the buyer had a predetermined right to the property (and, if needed, the possibility of claiming possession by usucaption), whereas the seller could always invalidate the sale in case he paid off the buyer. Apparently this was a way to bypass the usual rules of inheritance within the kindred, as well as limit the inheritance right to particular individuals and thus exclude a broader group of relatives. However, a particularly interesting aspect is that most sales-leases were documented in the 1390s, at the time

<sup>56</sup> PS ACI, doc. 27-28, 77-80, May 2, 1395.

of armed conflicts in the hinterland of Zadar between the allies and the enemies of the ruling royal family. During these conflicts, the nobility was increasingly in need of cash, which they could undoubtedly obtain most easily from the relatives who lived in the city. This business option most efficiently protected the rights of the sellers, and both the individual and the kindred were protected from a variety of potentially harmful claims or the possibility of losing the property. Moreover, this form of conducting business can explain the unexpectedly low sale prices regarding the size of the land. Thus, the sales-leases between relatives should first and foremost be regarded as acts of solidarity and protection within the kindred, and therefore also indirectly as indicators of kindred cohesion.

When it comes to viewing the sales-leases with regard to the relationship between the seller and the buyer, in which context one may also take into account the sales of this type between members of different kindreds, it may be concluded that the protection of the seller was the primary concern. Namely, it seems erroneous to interpret these sales exclusively as acts aimed at gaining profit from the invested money. One may certainly presume that such things happened, but as a consequence of the existing system rather than its foundation.

All these conclusions about the sales-leases can be summarized as following: apparently, documenting a transaction in the form of a sale-lease made it possible to avoid problems related to the inheritance laws or the limitations imposed to the free circulation of money. Thereby a part of the agreement remained unwritten or was simply implied. Nevertheless, when looking more closely at some of these sales-leases, one can occasionally obtain an insight into their background. Thus, in cases of transactions between relatives, one may presume that their aim was to predetermine the inheritance or to protect the buyer with regard to the possible future claims or acquisition rights. In other cases, one cannot establish with certainty whether the aim was to protect the buyer, to show exceptional leniency regarding the sale price, or perhaps to conduct business with the purpose of gaining profit from the investment (while concealing the interest).

With regard to this, one should also mention some other documented forms of land transactions, which speak of the links between the Croatian nobility resident in Zadar and their homeland.

First of all, there are cases of pawning a landed property as a guarantee or payment for a borrowed sum of money. If the debtor paid off the creditor, the latter would return the pawned property, and if not, it remained in his possession. A typical example

is found in 1404, when Stanislav aka Mrgan, son of the late Križan Smolić from the Virević kindred, obtained three *ždrijeb* of land in the village of Jošane Velike from his relative Grgur, son of the late Jakov Stojšić from the Virević kindred, as a guarantee for 25.5 golden ducat coins he had lent him.<sup>57</sup>

Land transactions also included various donations of land or harvest. A merchant from Zadar by the name of Matej, son of the late Netremac, received several land donations in different villages from the members of the Mogorović kindred in 1384,<sup>58</sup> while in 1390, his relative Ratko, son of the late Šćemergot, freed him from paying an annual quarter of harvest from four walnut trees in the village of Grabrovčane.<sup>59</sup> In 1453, Mateša, son of the late Karin Polečić from Tršćani, donated some land in that village to his son Vukašin, barber surgeon and a citizen of Zadar.<sup>60</sup>

In conclusion, it should be said about land transactions that, even though some forms are more prominent than others, they cannot be reduced to these forms alone. In accordance with the needs of conducting business, various situations and contracts could emerge.<sup>61</sup> What is important is the fact that all these land transactions shed a new light on the nobility's need of cash, their financial power, and above all their permanent links with their homeland.

In continuation, my aim is to focus on other forms of connectedness between the Croatian nobility resident in the city and their old homeland.

This connectedness is also expressed in the support that the kindred members living in the hinterland received from their relatives in the city. A particularly frequent practice was to take care of underage kindred members. Thus, in 1385, Dragoslava, widow of the late Ivan and a resident of Zadar, sent her niece Lipica, daughter of the late Vladoje from the Mogorović kindred, to live with Marica, widow of the late mas-

<sup>57</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 316-316', February 13, 1404.

<sup>58</sup> PP ACI, doc. 21, 52-55, April 6, 1384.

<sup>59</sup> PP ACI, doc. 92, 233-234, April 14, 1390.

<sup>60</sup> SAZ, DZN, ICal, b. IV, fasc. 6, vol. 6, 294'-295, January 8, 1453.

<sup>61</sup> As an example of variety, one may mention the case of Grgur Mrganić from the Virević kin, which took place in 1438. He then purchased all landed property in the village of Suhovare for 182 golden ducat coins from Count Tomaš Tvrtko from the Mogorović kin, who was a royal knight. The following year, in 1439, that sale was invalidated as Tomaš had paid off Grgur, but at the same time it was established that he still owed 50 golden ducat coins to Grgur. One may presume that Grgur returned the purchased land to Tomaš, but Tomaš did not entirely pay him off, so the rest of the money still lacking from the full sum of 182 golden ducat coins was noted down as debt (cf. SAZ, DZN, *Iacobus quondam Ostoję*, hereafter: IO, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 5, 25'-27', June 6, 1438; 45', June 8, 1439).

ter goldsmith Celije.<sup>62</sup> In 1441, Mateša, son of the late Karin from the Polečić kindred from Tršćani, sent his son Vukašin to a seven-year apprenticeship with Šimun, a barber surgeon in Zadar, son of the late Ivan from the same kindred.<sup>63</sup>

Links between the kindred members living in the city and their homeland are also evident from their testaments. Thus, merchant Matej, son of the late Netremac, obtained from his relative Mladocvitić, son of the late Vladislav from the Mogorović kindred from Grabrovčane, 100 small pounds during his lifetime, which he obliged himself to spend according to Vladislav's testament.<sup>64</sup> Besides links with the relatives living in the hinterland, the testaments often speak of links with the local churches. These links should be viewed in the context of the dying man's wish to save his soul, but it is nevertheless significant that these were always hinterland churches. Thus, Damjan, son of the late Martin from the Polečić kindred, made a donation in his last will to the church of St Mary and St Michael in Tršćani,<sup>65</sup> while Ivan Kučić from the Kačić kindred expressed his wish in 1452 to be buried in the church of St Mary in Nadin.<sup>66</sup>

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The Croatian nobility that was permanently or temporarily resident in Zadar from around mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, in accordance with the social circumstances, identified themselves primarily through their kindred cohesion. Social arrangements in the hinterland were different from those in the city and thus the hinterland nobility could mostly achieve an enviable social status, and yet they did not enjoy the same political rights as in their homeland. Despite that, some of them significantly contributed with their reputation to the assertion of the class of rich citizens – to which they mostly belonged themselves – in the social life of the city. It must be particularly emphasized that most of the prominent kindreds of Zadar's hinterland had some of their members living in Zadar, which undoubtedly indicates the attraction that the city held for them.

Permanent settlement of these noblemen in Zadar and its importance for the kindred can be observed from several viewpoints. First of all, it can be considered as a sign of class division within the kindred. Regarding the relationship between Zadar

<sup>62</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. I, fasc. 1, 166-166', September 23, 1413.

<sup>63</sup> SAZ, DZN, IO, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 7, 3-3', October 29, 1441.

<sup>64</sup> PP ACI, doc. 18, 46-47, March 9, 1384.

<sup>65</sup> SAZ, DZN, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, 62-63, February 20, 1388.

<sup>66</sup> SAZ, DZN, ICAL, b. VIII, fasc. 3, 84'-85, March 1, 1452.

and its hinterland, which is the focus of this paper, these kindreds were already in an advanced stage of class division during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Jamomet or Čudomirić kindreds. As for the members of other kindreds, one may observe an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, it seems that some kindreds supported the advancement of their members in the city (which may be inferred from the case of the Mogorović kindred and the series of abovementioned examples related to Matej, son of the late Netramac). On the other hand, the kindred members living in the city, once they had achieved an enviable financial status, satisfied not only their own needs, but also cared for the needy kindred members back in the homeland (as attested in the cases of Damjan, son of the late Martin from the Polečić kindred, or Grgur Mrganić from the Virević kindred in the early years of his activity). Most probably there was a whole spectrum of situations and statuses in between these extremes, which influenced the decision to settle down in Zadar, permanently or temporarily, or particular kindred members, as well as their attitude towards their homeland.

Moreover, one should probably view a number of property transactions in the context of advancement of various kindred members in the city and their support offered to those who remained in the homeland. Thereby the financial needs of kindreds corresponded to their care for landed property. The interrelation between advancement and support must be viewed, first and foremost, in regard to the ease of transaction between close relatives rather than an outspokenly planned enterprise; nevertheless, at least before the expansion of Zadar's district under the Venetian rule, the awareness of cohesion and protection of the kindred and its patrimony was by no means negligible.

Zadar was the centre of the Croatian Kingdom and thus offered a number of business options, which is why residence and successful activity there contributed to the reputation of individuals and their kindreds. Therefore, during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with an echo in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, despite the changed political situation, the interaction between the city and its hinterland, and their mutual integration, were very strong, as it has been emphasized here, and the arrival of newcomers from the hinterland was extremely important in Zadar's everyday life.

**APPENDIX:** An overview of Croatian kindred nobility who were temporarily or permanently resident in Zadar

Person	Kindred	Social status	Resident in Zadar	
Dminša, son of the late Jakov (Petrović)	Čudomirić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	temporarily	
Matej Radušević	Čudomirić	<i>de Iadra, habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Ivan, son of the late Juraj	Čudomirić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	permanently (?)	
Matej, son of the late Juraj	Gusić	<i>de Iadra</i>	permanently (?)	
Lovro, son of the late Dražmil (Dražmilić)	Jamomet	<i>habitator Iadre; ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Franjo, son of the late Lovro Dražmilić	Jamomet	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Pavao, son of the late Radman Šibica	Jamomet	<i>(de Obrouatio) habitator Iadre; ciuis et habitator; ciuis; ser</i>	permanently	
Juraj, son of the late Vlatko (Vlatković)	Kačić	<i>habitator Iadre; habitator Iadre</i>	temporarily	
Karol, son of the late Butko (Butković) Kučić	Kačić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	temporarily	
Ivan, son of the late Butko (Butković) Kučić	Kačić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	temporarily	
Vladiha, son of the late Juraj Petrišević	Karinjani	<i>(de Quirino, nobilis vir) habitator Iadre; ser</i>	temporarily	
Radič Stipančić	Kolunić	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	permanently (?)	

<sup>67</sup> Regarding the aforementioned methodology, these mentions of individuals in the sources are to facilitate future research, especially one that would systematically present the notarial documents of Zadar.

<sup>68</sup> Since Lovro is mentioned exceptionally frequently in the sources, I have here singled out some of the earliest mentions.

<sup>69</sup> From the 1420s onwards, the notarial documents of Zadar often mention Pavao Šibica, who is most probably identical with Pavao, son of the late Radman. These mentions are here not listed systematically, as has been previously stated. The actual number of Pavao's mentions is certainly much higher.

Profession	Time	Sources <sup>67</sup>
/	1390-1404	PP ACI, doc. 90, 228-230; DAZd, SZB, AR, b. II, fasc. 6, 5'-6.; PS ACI, doc. 18, 56-57; doc. 37, 95-97; DAZd, SZB, PS, b. III, fasc. 57, 23-23'; DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 190-192; VB ACI, doc. 43, 171; DAZd, SZB, VB, b. I, fasc. 2, vol. 6, 462; DAZd, SZB, TP, b. I, fasc. 1, 381'-382.
sailor	1390/91, 1395	PP ACI, doc. 90, 228-230; DAZd, SZB, AR, b. II, fasc. 6, 5'-6; PS ACI, doc. 37, 95-97; DAZd, SZB, PS, b. III, fasc. 57, 23-23'.
weaver	1412	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 12, vol. 1, 11'.
marangon	1399	DAZd, SZB, VB, b. I, fasc. 2, vol. 1, 114'.
merchant	1424-1464	IT-TP ACI, doc. 90, 150-151; DAZd, SZB, TP, b. II, fasc. 3, 492, b. III, fasc. 4, 86'-87, 100'; DAZd, SZB, IO, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 1, 20', b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 2, 16. <sup>68</sup>
/	1463	NB ACI, doc. 8, 196-197.
/	1403-1443	VB ACI, doc. 31, 166; DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 316-316'; IT-TP ACI, doc. 89, 149-150; DAZd, SZB, ICal, b. VIII, fasc. 1, vol. 2, 4; b. VIII, fasc. 1, vol. 1, 15'; DAZd, SZB, Simon Damiani (hereafter: SD), b. VII, fasc. 1, 2'-3. <sup>69</sup>
/	1390-1395	PP ACI, doc. 82, 209-210; AR ACI, doc. 50, 218-220; PS ACI, doc. 25-28, 72-80.
/	1411	DAZd, SZB, Christophorus de Zeno (hereafter: CZ), b. I, fasc. 1, 8'-9.
/	1411	DAZd, SZB, CZ, b. I, fasc. 1, 45'-46'.
/	1390	AR ACI, doc. 17, 121-123.
furrier	1408	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 10, 21'-22.

Person	Kindred	Social status	Resident in Zadar	
Stipša Stipšić	Kukar	( <i>nobilis de Scardona</i> ) <i>ad presens habitator Iadre; ser</i>	temporarily	
Ivan Vukušić	Lapčani	<i>de Iadra, ciuis Iadre</i>	permanently	
Vučina, son of the late Budislav	Lapčani	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	permanently (?)	
Damjan, son of the late Dibudoje	Lasničić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	permanently (?)	
Vladislav, son of the late Tolša	Lasničić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	temporarily (?)	
Miren, son of the late Vlatko Gravranic	Ludić	<i>ciuis Iadre</i>	temporarily	
Juraj, son of the late Disislav Slavčić (Slavičić)	Mogorović	<i>habitator None; nobilis ciuis None; comes</i>	permanently	
Matej, son of the late Netremac	Mogorović	<i>habitator Iadre; ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Ivan, son of Matej, son of the late Netremac	Mogorović		?	
Grgur, son of the late Stjepan Rusković	Mogorović	<i>habitator Iadre; nobilis vir</i>	permanently	
Juraj, son of the late Miroslav (Miroslavić)	Mogorović	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre; de Iadra</i>	permanently	
Franjo, son of Juraj Miroslavić	Mogorović	<i>ciuis Iadre</i>	permanently	
Damjan, son of the late Martin	Polečić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the mentions listed by Sabina F. Fabijanec, "Pojava profesije mercator i podrijetlo trgovaca u Zadru u XIV i početkom XV stoljeća" [The emergence of the profession of mercator and the origin of merchants in Zadar in the 14th and early 15th centuries], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 19 (2001): 83-125, here 118.

<sup>71</sup> Because of the large number of mentions, I have selected only those that speak of his social status.

<sup>72</sup> These are only selected mentions; cf. those listed in Fabijanec, "Pojava profesije" (as in n. 70), 112.

<sup>73</sup> These are only selected mentions; cf. those listed *ibid.*, 110.

	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Sources</b>
	/	1454-1461	DAZd, SZB, ICal, b. V, fasc. 7, vol. 1, 37-37'; b. V, fasc. 8, vol. 2, 63'-64; b. V, fasc. 8, vol. 4b, 151-151'.
	merchant	1416-1433	IT-TP ACI, doc. 69, 124; DAZd, SZB, IO, b. I, fasc. 3, vol. 1, 22-22'; b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 3, 20'-21'.
	marangon	1394	PS ACI, doc. 15, 48-50.
	tailor	1380	PP ACI, doc. 2, 15-17.
	/	1388	PP ACI, doc. 61, 154-156.
	/	1435	DAZd, SZB, TP, b. IV, fasc. 5, vol. 16B, 290.
	/	1384-1396	<i>Codex diplomaticus</i> , XVI, doc. 382, 503; <i>Codex diplomaticus</i> , XVII, doc. 367, 515-516; AR ACI, doc. 16, 118-120, doc. 31, 166-169; PP ACI, doc. 93, 235-237, doc. 101, 251-254; DAZd, SZB, Petar iz Sarzane [Petar from Sarzana] (hereafter: PS), b. III, fasc. 53, 23-23'.
	merchant	1369-1393	DAZd, SZB, PP, b. I, fasc. 11, 8', b. II, fasc. 1, 35'; <i>Codex diplomaticus</i> , XVI, doc. 1, 3-5; DAZd, SZB, Iohannes de Casulis, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 1, 23'; PP ACI, doc. 17-18, 42-47, doc. 21, 52-55, doc. 93, 235-237; DAZd, SZB, AR, b. II, fasc. 6, 139'-140'. <sup>70</sup>
	/	1393	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. II, fasc. 6, 139'-140'.
	/	1384-1401	PP ACI, doc. 29, 74-76, doc. 62, 157-159, doc. 68, 173-176, AR ACI, doc. 6, 92-94, doc. 12, 108-110, doc. 16, 118-120, doc. 21, 130-132, doc. 29, 150-152, doc. 73, 186-188, DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 224-224'; DAZd, SZB, VB, b. I, fasc. 2, vol. 1, 253'. <sup>71</sup>
	merchant	1370-1411	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 3, 48-49, b. II, fasc. 6, 201', b. III, fasc. 8, 247; PS ACI, doc. 6, 143-144; DAZd, SZB, CZ, b. I, fasc. 1, 28'. <sup>72</sup>
	/	1412-1420	IT-TP ACIb, doc. 45, 188-189; IT-TP ACI, doc. 72, 127-128; DAZd, SZB, TP, b. I, fasc. 1, 381'-382; TP, b. II, fasc. 3, 35'-36.
	merchant	1378-1389	DAZd, SZB, PS, b. II, fasc. 11, 3-5, b. II, fasc. 15, 13-15; DAZd, SZB, AR, b. IV, fasc. 1, 62', 102; PP ACI, doc. 69, 176-178, doc. 70, 178-181, doc. 73, 186-188. <sup>73</sup>

Person	Kindred	Social status	Resident in Zadar	
Drugoš, son of the late Cvitka	Polečić	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	temporarily	
Pavao, son of Drugoš	Polečić	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Radoslav (Ratko?)	Polečić	<i>habitator Iadre; cavalarius domini comitis Iadre</i>	permanently	
Šimun, son of the late Ivan	Polečić	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre; ciuis Iadre</i>	permanently	
Vukašin Matešin	Polečić	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Vuk, son of the late Slavogost	Prklji	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Juraj, son of the late Bogdan	Razvaljane	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	?	
Matej, son of the late Bogdan	Stupić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	permanently (?)	
Jakov, son of the late Žuvel (Žuvelić)	Viktorić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	temporarily	
Petar, son of Dragoslav Grupčić	Viktorić	<i>habitat in Iadra</i>	temporarily	
Luka, son of the late Juraj	Viktorić	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	?	
Franul Radinov	Viktorić	<i>habitator Iadre in Pistumano</i>	permanently (?)	
Matej Križanić (Križančić)	Viktorić	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre; ciuis Iadre</i>	permanently	
Grgur Križanić	Viktorić	<i>ciuis et habitator Iadre</i>	permanently	
Stanislav aka Mrgan, son of the late Križan Smolić	Virević	<i>habitator Iadre; ciuis Iadre</i>	permanently	

<sup>74</sup> As his mentions are numerous, this is only a selection, in which Šimun is mostly linked to the homeland.

<sup>75</sup> This is only a selection of mentions; cf. those listed in Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću* (as in n. 31), 135.

<sup>76</sup> Grgur is also mentioned in the assessment of tax liability for the *marturina*, the tithe, and the military tax in the district of Zadar in 1435, cf. Antoljak, *Pobiranje marturine* (as in n. 43), 436-438.

<sup>77</sup> As his mentions are numerous, this is only a selection.

	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Sources</b>
	/	1404-1409	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 141'-142, b. III, fasc. 9, vol. 3, 121-121', b. III, fasc. 9, vol. 1, 52-52', b. III, fasc. 10, 26'.
	/	1404-1409	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 9, vol. 3, 121-121', b. III, fasc. 10, 26'.
	cavalryman in the count's service	1420-1442	DAZd, SZB, Bartholomeus de Sarcana, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 3, 21'; DAZd, SZB, Nicolaus de Ho de Cremona, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 1, 15; DAZd, SZB, ICal, b. I, fasc. 1, 298-298', b. VIII, fasc. 1, vol. 1, 1'.
	barber surgeon	1436-1467	DAZd, SZB, TP, b. V, fasc. 6, 95-97'; DAZd, SZB, IO, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 4, 28'-29, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 7, 3-3'; DAZd, SZB, ICal, b. IV, fasc. 6, vol. 6, 294'-295; DAZd, SZB, Nicolaus de Benedicti (hereafter: NB), b. II, fasc. 1, vol. 11, 12-13. <sup>74</sup>
	barber surgeon	1441-1463	DAZd, SZB, IO, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 7, 3-3'; DAZd, SZB, ICal, b. IV, fasc. 6, vol. 6, 294'-295, DAZd, SZB, SD, b. VII, fasc. 2, 86.
	/	1392-1406	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. II, fasc. 6, 77'-78'; PS ACI, doc. 56, 121-123, doc. 64, 138-139; IT-TP ACI, doc. 9, 26-28.
	/	1415	IT-TP ACI, doc. 60, 111-112.
	furrier	1407	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. V, fasc. 2, 60.
	/	1408	IT-TP ACIb, doc. 36, 183.
	/	1389	PP ACI, doc. 64, 162-164.
	/	1406	IT-TP ACIb, doc. 23, 173-174.
	/	1414	IT-TP ACIb, doc. 49, 191.
	butcher	1416-1422	IT-TP ACI, doc. 71, 126-127, doc. 89, 149-150; DAZd, SZB, TP, b. II, fasc. 3, 35'-36. <sup>75</sup>
	/	1435-1438	DAZd, SZB, NB, b. I, fasc. 1, vol. 4, 10. <sup>76</sup>
		1390-1412	PP ACI, doc. 80, 204-206, doc. 106, 262-264; PS ACI, doc. 3, 21-23, doc. 33, 87-88; DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 30, 316-316'; IT-TP ACIb, doc. 42, 186-187; DAZd, SZB, TP, b. I, fasc. 1, 294-295'. <sup>77</sup>

Person	Kindred	Social status	Resident in Zadar	
Andrija, son of Stanislav aka Mrgan	Virević	<i>ciuis Iadre</i>	permanently (?)	
Blaša, son of Stanislav aka Mrgan	Virević	<i>habitator Iadre</i>	permanently (?)	
Grgur, son of Stanislav aka Mrgan (Mrganić)	Virević	<i>ciuus et habitator Iadre; ciuus Iadre</i>	permanently	
Šimun Saračinić	Virević	<i>ciuus et habitator Iadre; ciuus Iadre</i>	permanently	

<sup>78</sup> As Grgur's mentions are exceptionally numerous, this is only a selection of his earliest mentions. The earliest documented is from 1401, cf. Ančić, *Splitski i Zadarski* (as in n. 6), doc. 9, 76-77.

<sup>79</sup> As his mentions are numerous, this is only a selection, in which Šimun is mostly linked to the homeland.

	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Sources</b>
	/	1402	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 151.
	/	1403	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 8, 279.
	merchant, draper	1401-1460	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. III, fasc. 10, 15-16; IT-TP ACI, doc. 56, 106-107, doc. 62, 115-116, doc. 65, 119-120, doc. 73, 128-129; DAZd, SZB, TP, b. I, fasc. 1, 294-296. <sup>78</sup>
	/	1394-1444	DAZd, SZB, AR, b. II, fasc. 6, 200, b. III, fasc. 9, vol. 1, 5'-7'; b. III, fasc. 10, 16-16'; <i>Codex diplomaticus</i> , XVIII, doc. 45, 58-60; IT-TP ACI, doc. 17, 38-40, doc. 65, 119-120, doc. 72, 127-128; DAZd, SZB, CZ, b. I, fasc. 1, 12'-13, 14; DAZd, SZB, TP, b. VI, fasc. 1, 186-186'; DAZd, SZB, NB, b. II, fasc. 1, vol. 3, 11'-12'. <sup>79</sup>